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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AmEmbassy, Taipei

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

REF :

15 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION FE-4	DEPT. IN F OTHER	APR 03 1958 OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS RELEASABLE	DATEX 19/8/58 6/11/53 511.93	793.00/3-3158
REC'D 4/4			CIA-12 OSD-4 OCB-1 USIA-10		993.40

SUBJECT: One Aspect of Chinese Communist Propaganda Aimed at Taiwan

Summary

One example of current Chinese Communist attitudes toward Taiwan is contained in a Peiping broadcast of March 5, which took out of context a briefing statement by Counselor of Embassy Pilcher. The Peiping broadcast - along with other mainland propaganda - suggests 1) a Chinese Communist belief that prospects now are dim for the rise and assumption to power in Taiwan of a non-Kuomintang group, and/or 2) the Chinese Communists do not wish to encourage a more "liberal" group on Taiwan for fear it might lead to a more permanent two Chinas. The broadcast is also a good example of how the mainland regime attempts to exacerbate relations between the United States and the Government of the Republic of China.

On March 5, 1958 Peiping radio broadcast in Mandarin an anonymous commentary entitled "The United States Political Plot Against the Kuomintang". The full commentary is transmitted as enclosure no. 1. The commentary said that the American Counselor of Embassy in Taiwan, James Pilcher, stated "The United States does not support Chiang Kai-shek's one-man administration on Taiwan". The commentary added that Mr. Pilcher said, "If an accident happened to him, the Vice President on Taiwan would succeed him immediately."

The Peiping commentary went on to say that these words show the "American aggressive group does not consider Chiang Kai-shek a reliable puppet. Although the American aggressive group seemingly support Chiang's administration on Taiwan, eagerly, it is helping in the development of new political forces both in and outside Taiwan and secretly carrying out a movement against Chiang Kai-shek's control of Taiwan." The commentary said that the purpose of Americans appears to be "to control Chiang Kai-shek, and on the other hand, to sacrifice him and establish another pro-American regime on Taiwan...The United States is developing pro-American elements both in and outside Taiwan, including the so-called 'liberal' sect on Taiwan manipulated by the American imperialists."

According to the commentary, in addition to developing pro-American elements, the "American aggressive group" is sowing dissension between

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Ch'en Ch'eng and Chiang Ching-kuo. Then the commentary states, "A foreign news agency revealed that the United States is not only creating two Chinas for purposes of permanent occupation of Taiwan but also two Kuomintangs in order (to) control the Chiang clique".

Actually, what Mr. Pilcher⁴ had said in briefing a group of American editors and commentators on February 22, was, "Now as to the future - the Chinese have a constitution, a duly elected President and Vice President, and should the President pass from the scene, we know of no reason why there would not be an orderly succession of the Vice President to the Presidency." The entire briefing statement is attached as enclosure no. 2.

After the briefing Mr. Pilcher was asked why the United States was supporting "a one man government". He replied that the U.S. is "not supporting a one man government; U.S. policy is to support the Government of the Republic of China." A copy of a newspaper report of the February 22 press conference is transmitted as enclosure no. 3.

It seems clear that in their propaganda output the Chinese Communists have aimed at the relationship between the United States and the Chinese Government. Obviously, they hope to create a climate of distrust of the U.S. among GRC leaders.

In the process, however, they have backhandedly implied that the United States is doing something to assist the "liberal" group on Taiwan. It appears likely that the Chinese Communists, for the time being, have decided they are more likely to get results if they concentrate on building distrust toward the U.S. among GRC leaders than if they show sympathy toward the more "liberal" groups on Taiwan.

Another sign of the current Chinese Communist estimate of the situation on Taiwan may be their failure to do much propagandawise with the Control Yuan-Premier struggle during the last three months. To some extent the Communists were in a dilemma, since the clash had elements of democratic processes which the mainland regime would not want to publicize. It is entirely possible, however, that an additional Communist reason for not dwelling on the Control Yuan-Premier clash was their estimate that the executive branch was fully in control of the situation and, therefore, an attack on the GRC leadership was less likely to be productive than an attempt to sow GRC leadership - U.S. dissension and suspicion. Still another consideration may have been Chinese Communist thinking that direct criticism of the Premier-Control Yuan clash would cause a closing of the GRC ranks against Chicom propaganda attacks.

Background on Chinese Communist Domestic Output

The mainland domestic propaganda line since January, 1956 has been peaceful liberation of Taiwan. This was broken by strong comments against Americans during ten days after the May 24, 1957 riot. Since the middle of 1957, in

*At that time Mr. Pilcher was
Charge d'Affaires.

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domestic output, there has been little use of liberation of Taiwan as a propaganda theme. It is still carried in major policy speeches, but there is no longer the day to day emphasis on it.

Background on Mainland Propaganda Directed at Taiwan

A distinct propaganda program aimed at Taiwan has been apparent since 1954 and 1955. In the entire period since its inception, there has been no significant shift in the basic emphasis, which has been to attempt to undermine morale and persuade people on Taiwan to defect.

The climate of distrust between GRC leaders and the U.S. (which the Chinese Communists stressed in their March 5 broadcast quoted above) is not a new theme. Chou En-lai, in a speech to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in March of 1957, appears to have keynoted this theme by saying that the U.S. would not hesitate to replace the government on Taiwan with a more "pliant" one. The theme has recurred from time to time since.

There are some indications in the Communist propaganda output toward Taiwan that appeals for defection to high level Kuomintang personalities were given up after May 24. Subsequently, appeals were directed at lower level government and military officials.

The Chinese Communist line on amnesty has changed. In 1956 they spoke of no punishment for past misdeeds. This type of pledge has not been repeated in recent months. Also, the purge of "rightists" which began in 1957 must have stiffened the attitude of any person interested in mainland appeals to defect. Reports on these purges have been well-covered in the Taiwan press. One report, quoted as an example, was carried in the Chung Yang Jih Pao of January 15, 1958:

"Major General WANG Ch'i, former commander of the Gendarmerie in Peiping was shot to death on January 13 at Mukden on the charge of having murdered LI Ta-chao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party, thirty years ago."

Conclusions

The Chinese Communists think of GRC-U.S. relations as a key target must be constantly attacked. The March 5 Peiping broadcast is one example of how the Chinese Communists utilize news emanating from Taiwan in order to hit at this target. For the time being, the main technique and hope of the Communists in their efforts to "liberate" Taiwan is to create ill-will and suspicion between the GRC and the U.S.

The March 5 broadcast and other mainland propaganda output suggest that the Chinese Communists believe 1) prospects now are dim for the rise and assumption to power of a non-Kuomintang group, and/or 2) the Chinese Communists

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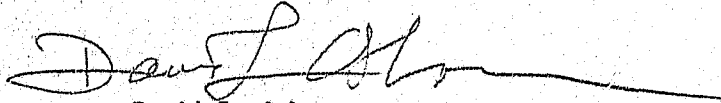
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do not wish to encourage the development of a more "liberal" group on Taiwan for fear that it might lead in the direction of a more permanent two Chinas.

ACTION REQUESTED: Department please pass a copy to CINCPAC POLAD.

For the Ambassador:



David L. Osborn
Counselor of Embassy for
Political Affairs

Enclosures: *3*

1. Commentary of March 5, 1958.
2. Briefing statement of February 22, 1958.
3. China Post article of February 23, 1958.

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MARCH 5, 1958, PEIPING BROADCAST IN MANDARIN TO TAIWAN

Recently, American Counselor on Taiwan James Pilcher answered questions put by thirty-two American journalists who visited Taiwan not so long ago. The answers he gave to the American newspapermen were very delicate. Pilcher said, "The United States does not support Chiang Kai-shek's one-man administration on Taiwan." The American Counselor stressed that "If an accident happened to him, the Vice President on Taiwan would succeed him immediately."

What does Pilcher mean by this? Is Pilcher hinting to Chiang Kai-shek that he had better be obedient to the United States, otherwise he will be replaced by someone? Did Pilcher exceed his functions and meddle in internal affairs on Taiwan? Is he trying to interfere in the relationship between Chen Cheng and Chiang Shing-kuo of the so-called power group on Taiwan.

Of course, it is not strange that Pilcher should use such words. Earl Rankin, former American Ambassador to Taiwan, in answering questions put by the American journalists visiting Taiwan Mar. 1, 1957, also used such words. In talking about succession, Rankin said that such succession is normal, legal, and peaceful. At that time, Taiwan papers and the pro-nationalist press in Hong Kong sharply criticized his statement. Only 1 year later, Pilcher repeated what Rankin said before.

It is a great insult to the Chinese people. For purposes of occupying Taiwan permanently, the American aggressive group does not consider Chiang Kai-shek a reliable puppet. Although the American aggressive group seemingly supports Chiang's administration on Taiwan eagerly, it is helping greatly in the development of new political forces both in and outside Taiwan and secretly carrying out a movement against Chiang Kai-shek's control of Taiwan. During the past year, pro-American elements on Taiwan, who are manipulated by the American aggressive group under the banner of "true democracy and true freedom", were very active in subversion against Chiang's administration. Apparently, the real purpose of the American aggressive group is, on the one hand, to control Chiang Kai-shek and on the other hand, to sacrifice him and establish another pro-American puppet regime on Taiwan, if necessary.

The United States is developing pro-American elements both in and outside Taiwan, including the so-called "liberal" sect on Taiwan and manipulated by the American imperialists.

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The American aggressive group is not only developing pro-American elements both in and outside Taiwan but is using the trick of sowing dissension to deepen frictions between Chen Cheng and Chiang Ching-kuo. Foreign News Agency revealed that the United States is not only creating two Chinas for purposes of permanent occupation of Taiwan but also two Kuomintangs in order to control the Chiang clique.

The means used by the United States are obviously very tricky and wicked. Of course everyone understands very well that the United States has no prejudice in favor of Chen Cheng. The American aggressive group is merely using tricks to intensify differences between Chen Cheng and Chiang Ching-kuo, start provocations, make them fight each other, and then to manipulate them. Recently, because the situation on Taiwan has become worse, the Kuomintang has issued a warning to political circles on Taiwan that they should beware of being betrayed by someone. Working for the imperialists is therefore not worthwhile.

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Briefing by Mr. James B. Pilcher for Editors and Commentators

February 22, 1958

The National Government moved to Taiwan in December, 1949. It was a bewildered, defeated, and discouraged government. It was known as a government of weakness and inefficiency. Probably never in history has a government with so many human and natural resources deteriorated so rapidly. It did not know which way to turn and indeed it looked as though it might cease to exist. Notwithstanding, it held on. And then the Korean War started. That may be considered as the turning of the tide in the destiny of the National Government. The UN decision to combat the spread of communism in Asia gave hope and courage to the National Government, and from that point onward this Government with the assistance and support given it by the U. S. Government has progressed to become one of the most stable, democratic, industrious, militarily strong, and forward looking governments in Asia. It cannot and must not be looked upon as the National Government between the years 1945 to 1950.

Today there are on the Island of Taiwan approximately 10,000,000 people, 2,000,000 of whom, including 500,000 military, came from the various provinces on the Mainland. Almost all of the 10,000,000 are Chinese in origin, language, and culture. Over half the members of the United Nations have a smaller population than Taiwan. The Island has the second highest standard of living in Asia, the second highest literacy rate in Asia, and the second highest productive capacity and industrial potential in Asia, if the Communist Mainland is not included.

The people on Taiwan have developed the economy of the Island to a point where it would be viable were it not for the overwhelming military burden it has to bear. Yet, notwithstanding the great gains in political, military, economic, agricultural, and kindred fields, it has made even greater gains in the educational field. The immense educational vacuum left by the Japanese after fifty years of occupation was filled by the Nationalists and includes the imposition of the official Mandarin language. Education is compulsory between the ages of six and twelve. The impact already apparent will be felt in a greater measure in a few years for 54% of the people of this Island are under 20 years of age. Actually 70% of the people are under 30 years of age. No wonder the present rate of increase in population is 3.6% annually.

One other factor should be mentioned here. This Island has a great reservoir of brainpower. Included among the 2,000,000 who came from the Mainland are well educated, highly trained, and experienced governmental leaders, doctors, engineers, bankers,

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lawyers, educators and businessmen. Their capabilities in this respect are either first or second in Asia.

The U.S. Government has expended approximately \$325,000,000 yearly in aid programs on Taiwan since the outbreak of the Korean War and we believe the programs are models for Asia. The accomplishments in the military, the economic, and the agricultural fields will be covered by others and in material being given to you.

In carrying out the U.S. aid programs on Taiwan and in furtherance of our policy here, there are more than ten U.S. agencies operating on Taiwan. These Americans and their families connected with the agencies number approximately 9,000. It should be noted that with the exception of the 13th Air Task Force Provisional and Katador units on the island, there are no U.S. combat forces here. Our military are here primarily for the purpose of training the Chinese military. In addition to the official American family there are approximately 1,000 Americans on the island engaged in business, religious, educational, student, and kindred activities. The Fulbright program has been recently reactivated and with additional funds being made available from the PL-480 commodities (Surplus Agricultural) it is hoped the program can be expanded.

Now as to the future - the Chinese have a Constitution, a duly elected President and Vice President, and should the President pass from the scene, we know of no reason why there would not be an orderly succession of the Vice President to the Presidency. It is believed that future elections would all be conducted within the framework of the Chinese Constitution.

The Chinese Communists and the Nationalist Government both strongly oppose a "Two China" concept and we cannot in the foreseeable future envisage any authority in power in the ROC which would accept the "Two China" concept for Taiwan. Nor is there any indication or evidence whatsoever that any Government in authority on this island would ever negotiate with the Communists. All of this is totally alien to their political thinking and action.

With regard to the question of a return to the Mainland, I would like to quote from Ambassador Rankin's farewell address to the Chinese just prior to his departure:

"Another question frequently asked in the name of 'realism' is whether the Government of the Republic of China genuinely believes in a 'Return to the Mainland.' My answer is yes. Since the conception of two Chinas in permanence must be excluded,

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there is no substantial alternative to reunism. However, many people both in China and abroad tend to regard this problem in purely military terms. They picture a huge ambitious operation, a great armed assault, with banners flying and bugles blowing. Now it might happen that way, but I would hope not. Military strength is essential in any event, but its optimum employment is to bring victory with a minimum of actual fighting. I need not describe the truly horrible character of full-scale modern war, for military and civilians on both sides. The Chinese people will fight for freedom if need be, no matter what the cost, but how much better if they can be spared at least some of the sufferings with which they are all too familiar!

"I am confident that the Chinese Armed Forces will play a vital part in the eventual liberation of China, whether as a military force in being, or on the field of battle, or as forces of reoccupation and reconstruction. I believe also that political, economic and social developments on Taiwan will be equally important with military strength in the redemption of China. And I am sure that the continued success of the Chinese Government in maintaining friendships throughout the free world will contribute no less significantly to the same end. In these several ways, Free China today leads a crusade against the malignant influence of international communism which far transcends the conception of a purely military counter-attack against the mainland.

And in conclusion I would like to quote from Secretary Dulles' speech at San Francisco last June 28. He said:

"We can confidently assume that international communism's rule of strict conformity is, in China as elsewhere, a passing and not a perpetual phase. We owe it to ourselves, our allies and the Chinese people to do all that we can to contribute to that passing."

"And then he added:

"The capacity to change is an indispensable capacity. Equally indispensable is the capacity to hold fast that which is good. Given these qualities we can hopefully look forward to the day when those in Asia who are yet free can confidently remain free and when the people of China -- he referred, of course, to all Chinese -- and the people of America can resume their long history of cooperative friendship."

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China Post

Sunday, February 23, 1958

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Red Chinese Regime is Vicious, Brutal,
Untrustworthy, Doyle Tells US Pressmen

by Robert Brown

Taipei, Feb. 22 (UP) The top American military commander on Formosa warned the US today that Red China cannot be trusted.

Vice Admiral Austin R. Doyle told a group of 32 visiting American newsmen that the Communist Chinese regime "is vicious, brutal and completely untrustworthy."

Doyle said the Communist leaders on the China mainland are "determined and clever. We should never underestimate the Peiping government."

The three-star admiral, head of the US Taiwan Defense Command, joined with other U.S. officials in briefing the touring newsmen who arrived here yesterday.

Doyle said that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forces have succeeded in tying down 350,000 Red Chinese troops on the coast of the China mainland opposite Formosa.

He assured the visiting editors that the Nationalist Chinese Government here "recognizes its obligation to the U.S." for American aid.

At the same time, American Charge d'Affaires James Pilcher said that the U.S. is "not supporting a one-man government" on Formosa in the person of Chiang Kai-shek. He explained that American policy is to support the "government of the Republic of China."

Pilcher was confident that if anything happened to Chiang there would be an orderly succession to the presidency by the man who is vice president at the time.

Pilcher said it was his personal hope that the U.S. never moves toward a two-China policy.

The top American diplomat on Formosa reminded the newsmen that both the Nationalists and the Communists are on record as opposing the concept of two Chinas.

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American officials here, he said, "cannot envisage any authority in power in the Republic of China that would accept the two China concept."

Pilcher said there is absolutely no indication that any government running Formosa would make a deal with the Communists. "This is totally alien to the political action, thinking and beliefs" of the Chinese on Formosa, he added.

Formosa today has "one of the most stable, democratic, militarily strong and forward looking governments in Asia," said Pilcher.

The US envoy emphasized that America "is not alone" in supporting the Nationalist Chinese Government as opposed to the Peiping regime.

Pilcher pointed out that the Nationalist Government year after year has continued to maintain its seat in the United Nations with a majority of the U. N. members supporting it.

Asked what brought about the May 24 riots in Taipei, Pilcher replied that it was a "spontaneous" demonstration against the acquittal of an American sergeant who killed a Chinese.

"I'm sure there was no anti-American feeling among the Chinese," he said, explaining that Americans outside of Taipei experienced no trouble on the day of the riots.

Pilcher said there is no serious split between the ruling Kuomintang party, headed by Chiang, and the people of Formosa.

Dr. Gerald Warren, an officer of the U.S. aid program, told the newsmen that America is currently meeting an eighty to ninety million dollars deficit of Chiang's government annually.

American aid officials told the visiting editors that the Chinese people on Formosa are paying a heavy tax rate on their own to help meet the cost of government.

Warren estimated that there is between eight to ten percent annual increase in inflation on Formosa. Dr. Ralph Powell of the embassy staff said there is a free press on Formosa.

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